

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 102858
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USMISSION NATO

USNMR SHAPE

USCINC EUR

S E C R E T STATE 102858

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJECT: MBFR: US-FRG BILATERALS ON DATA

THE FOLLOWING SUMMARIZES THE US-FRG DISCUSSIONS ON MAY 3
REGARDING THE NEXT STEPS IN THE DATA DISCUSSION IN VIENNA.
EMBASSY LONDON MAY PASS INFORMATION TO UK FCO OFFICIALS.

THE GERMANS WERE FIRMLY OPPOSED TO THE TABLING OF NATIONAL
DATA IN VIENNA. THEY ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE
FURTHER BETWEEN SECRETARY VANCE AND FOREIGN MINISTER

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 102858

GENSCHER IN LONDON NEXT WEEK. HOWEVER, THEY ARE NOT PRE-
PARED AT THIS POINT TO ACCEPT ANY COMPROMISE WHICH INVOLVES
TABLING OF TOTAL NATIONAL FIGURES.

THEIR RATIONALE IS AS FOLLOWS:

1. THEY DO NOT DOUBT NATO'S COMPLETE COMMITMENT TO

COLLECTIVITY.

2. HOWEVER, THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT THE TABLING OF NATIONAL DATA WILL GIVE THE WRONG SIGNAL TO THE EAST AND THAT THE EAST MAY BE ENCOURAGED TO BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN ERODE NATO'S POSITION ON COLLECTIVITY.

3. FURTHERMORE, THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT THIS MOVE WILL INCREASE FRENCH RESISTANCE TO MBFR BECAUSE THE FRENCH WILL SEE THIS STEP AS AN EROSION OF THE COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE. THIS THEY FEAR WILL BURDEN OVERALL RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE ALLIANCE.

THE ALTERNATIVE GERMAN PROPOSAL AS INITIALLY DESCRIBED BY RUTH INVOLVES THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS. (IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION THE FRG DID NOT PRESS THE FIRST TWO POINTS AND ONLY THE THIRD AND FOURTH POINTS WERE CONSIDERED IN DETAIL). FIRST, THE WEST SHOULD PRESS ONCE AGAIN FOR THE TABLING OF US AND SOVIET DATA. THEY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WOULD BE LARGELY FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES. SECOND, THEY BELIEVE NATO SHOULD RECONSIDER THE MERITS OF TABLING WESTERN ESTIMATES OF WARSAW PACT FORCES IN THE NGA. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE US HAS PROBLEMS WITH THIS BUT WOULD LIKE US TO RECONSIDER THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE. THIRD, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO EMPLOY A VERSION OF THE DUTCH PROPOSAL. THIS WOULD INVOLVE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATO PUBLICATION WITH NATIONAL FIGURES OF ALL OF THE FORCES OF NATO MEMBER STATES BY COUNTRY WITH SUBTOTALS FOR FORCES IN "CENTRAL EUROPE". THE DATA WOULD BE AS OF JANUARY 1, 1976. TO

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 102858

AVOID THE FRENCH PROBLEM IT WOULD REFER TO THE FORCES OF THOSE STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND COULD BE LIMITED TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. IT WOULD INCLUDE DATA ONLY ON GROUND AND AIR FORCES. IF ASKED, THE WEST COULD CONFIRM THE ACCURACY OF THESE FIGURES TO THE EAST. BUT THE WEST SHOULD NOT INSIST THAT THE EAST TABLE ITS NATIONAL FIGURES IN RETURN FOR THIS ACTION. INSTEAD, THE WEST SHOULD PROPOSE THE TABLING OF DATA BY UNITS (AS DESCRIBED BELOW) AS A MORE EFFECTIVE ALTERNATIVE TO THE TABLING OF NATIONAL TOTALS. THIS COULD BE TAKEN AS A SINGLE STEP OR IN A SERIES OF STEPS.

THE TABLING OF DATA COULD INVOLVE THE FOLLOWING SUBSTEPS:

STEP ONE - THE STRENGTHS OF THE TOTAL FORCES IN THE NGA IN (A) FIELD ARMIES, (B) TERRITORIAL FORCES, (C) OVERHEAD AND (D) AIR FORCE.

STEP TWO WOULD FURTHER BREAK DOWN THE FIELD ARMY TOTAL BY

THE TOTAL NUMBER FOR EACH SIDE OF ARMIES, CORPS AND DIVISIONS.

STEP THREE WOULD PROVIDE THE TOTAL PERSONNEL STRENGTHS FOR EACH SIDE OF THESE ARMIES, CORPS AND DIVISIONS.

STEP FOUR WOULD IDENTIFY EACH MAJOR UNIT BY THE LOCATION OF THEIR HEADQUARTERS AND POSSIBLY WITH AN INDICATION OF THE TYPE OF UNITS (E.G., ARMORED DIVISION, MOTORIZED DIVISION, ETC.).

STEP FIVE WOULD IDENTIFY THE NUMBER OF PERSONNEL IN EACH OF THESE UNITS BY LOCATION. RUTH INDICATED THAT THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY THAT THERE COULD BE FURTHER IDENTIFICATION OF THESE PERSONNEL BY NATIONAL DESIGNATION. HE ALSO STATED THE FRG WOULD CONSIDER ADDING A FURTHER STEP TABLING DATA FOR ALL NON-COMBAT FORCES (ALL THOSE OTHER THAN THE ABOVE) ACCORDING TO NATIONAL DESIGNATION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 102858

THE GERMANS POINTED OUT THAT THESE STEPS COULD BE TAKEN INDIVIDUALLY OR IN COMBINATION. THERE WAS SOME INDICATION FROM RUTH THAT THE FRG NOW CONSIDERS IT PREFERABLE TO AVOID THE DUTCH PROPOSAL AND TO GO DIRECTLY TO THE TOTAL DISAGGREGATION.

THE US SIDE QUESTIONED THE SOUNDNESS OF THE TWO MAJOR REASONS GIVEN BY THE GERMANS AS MOTIVES FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO TABLING NATIONAL TOTALS. THEY POINTED OUT TWO MAJOR DEFICIENCIES IN THE PROPOSED GERMAN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH. FIRST, IT WILL NOT GIVE US THE DATA THAT WE WANT IN THE WAY IT IS NEEDED UNLESS THE NATIONAL DESIGNATION OF UNITS AND OF NON-COMBAT FORCES DATA CAN BE TABLED. SECOND, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE EAST WILL BUY THIS APPROACH. RATHER, THEY WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR DATA ON A COUNTRY BASIS. IF THEY DO, THE WEST WILL HAVE TO DEFEND OUR UNWILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE NATIONAL DATA AND, IN OUR VIEW, THIS OUTCOME WILL ENDANGER THE COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE MORE SERIOUSLY THAN THE PROPOSED US APPROACH.

DURING THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS, THE GERMANS INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER TWO MODIFICATIONS TO THEIR PROPOSAL. THE FIRST WOULD BE TO INDICATE THE NATIONALITY AS WELL AS THE LOCATION OF EACH MAJOR UNIT IN THE FIFTH STEP DESCRIBED ABOVE. THE US SIDE INDICATED THAT THIS WOULD HELP, BUT WOULD STILL NOT GIVE A BREAKDOWN BY COUNTRY OF NON-COMBAT FORCES, THE AREA WHERE THE LARGEST DISCREPANCY WAS LIKELY TO LIE. THE GERMAN SIDE THEN SAID THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER BREAKING DOWN THE NON-COMBAT FORCES BY NATIONALITY. COMMENT: THIS APPROACH WOULD, OF COURSE,

ULTIMATELY PROVIDE GLOBAL NATIONAL FIGURES ALTHOUGH BY
A VERY TORTUOUS PROCESS. IT WILL NOT BE CLEAR WHETHER
THE FRG WILL BE PREPARED TO GO THIS FAR UNTIL WE HAVE A
REPORT ON RUTH'S CONVERSATIONS IN BONN. END COMMENT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 102858

AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING A DIFFERENCE OF VIEWS
REMAINED. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE MATTER SHOULD BE
DISCUSSED FURTHER AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY LEVEL DURING
THE FORTHCOMING LONDON MEETING. CHRISTOPHER

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